



התנועה לשחרור דרום-סודאן

שם:

חצ - 2122/12

מזהה פיזי:

93.75/1 - 95

מזהה לוגי:

02-110-03-07-01

כתובת:

16/11/2008

6

1.6.64

2122 / 12 / 31

מנהל תנועת ישראל ארץ אברהם

סוד 115.1 התנועה לשחרור דרום  
סודאן

נפתח: 1.4.1964

נסגר: 31.12.1965

סוד

310 185.1

המנהל  
לשירות  
185.1

2122 / 12 / 31

11

715.1 3/0

ירושלים, י"א שבט תשכ"ה  
14 ינואר 1965

מגידות ישראל  
חדש אבן  
25.1.1965  
דאר נכנס  
טס

ס ו ד י

הנציגות באפריקה

מאת: ס/מנהל מא"ף

שליח  
מזכיר  
נשיא  
מ"פ

הנדון: דרום סודאן

מפרסומי ומסקירות מא"ף אתם למדים שיש תמורות תדירות  
בדרום סודאן, גם ביחסה של ממשלת חרסום לבעיה וגם בקרב  
מנהיגות הדרום סודאנים.

הכלל שבקבע ע"י הנהלת המשרד בדבר ומצעות מתמיכה  
מצדנו בדרום סודאנים עומד בעינו. יחד עם זאת, יש צורך  
לעקוב מקרוב אחר ההתרחשויות לקראת אפשרות של שנוי במצבתנו.  
לצורך זה אין מניעה לקיום סגעי אינפורמטיבי בלבד עם נציגי  
דרום סודאן בארצות כהובתכם, אולם רצוי שהיוזמה לא תצא מאתנו  
ושהמגע לא ילווה בפרסום.

בשיחותיכם עם מנהיגים אפריקאניים, בייחוד בארצות  
הגובלות עם סודאן, השתדלו-נא לעמוד על יחסם לבעיה ועל  
כל שבוי בגישתם לאפשרות של מתן תמיכה חסדית לתנועת דרום  
סודאן.

רצ"ב צילום ידיעה שהופיעה בעתון מזרח אפריקאני  
העשויה להיות לכם לעזר בשיחותיכם בנושא.

ב ב ר כ ה

ל קדר





# SUDAN PROBLEM CAN KILL O.A.U. SAYS SOUTHERN LEADER

**T**HE problem of the Sudan was one of the major problems that could kill the Organisation for African Unity because it was an Afro-Arab conflict, the External and African Affairs Secretary of the Sudan African National Union (Sanu), Mr. Alphonse Malek Pajok, said in Nairobi yesterday.

"The problem of the Sudan is, if not worse, equal to that of South Africa," Mr. Pajok said. "This is a racial issue and anybody thinking that it is a political issue does not have the true facts."

In South Africa there was the problem of apartheid which separated Whites from Africans. But at the same time Africans, after being driven to poor locations, were allowed to develop in their own ways and according to their own culture.

"In the Sudan Africans are allowed to mix with the Arabs so that they do inferior and manual jobs," Mr. Pajok said. "Africans in Sudan are not allowed to develop their own African dignity and culture."

He called on Sir El Khatim El Khalifa's caretaker Government to split the country into two States, the Southern and the Northern, which would have separate flags for any idea of uniting the Sudan was impossible.

The Sudan was not a single nation because of the racial, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between the North and the South.

Mr. Pajok said he was surprised that some people supported the repressive minority Arab Government in a country which had Africans as the majority people, while the Government was a member of the Arab League.

Sanu had offered the Arabs a chance for negotiations in a

neutral country outside Sudan in the hope that the relationship between Africans and Arabs was not completely exhausted.

But this offer in the interest of national unity and peace had been abused by the Arab Government.

Sanu had now been forced, as a last-ditch move, to take two steps. These were the strengthening of Anyanya (Sanu's army) and asking the two Southern Sudanese Ministers in the caretaker Government to resign.

"Sanu must use all means to send out Arabs from the Southern Sudan," Mr. Pajok said. "Negotiations have failed. The next step is force."

The problem of Sudan involved all other neighbouring African States and must be solved by Africans themselves.

## Mr. Moi's speech in Khartoum

A further account of the speech made by Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Moi, at the independence celebrations in Khartoum (as reported yesterday) shows that he expressed happiness because the Sudanese people now had a transitional Government "after having overthrown a military Government which had caused stagnation for six years".

He called on the Northern and Southern Sudanese to settle their differences, supporting the Government to build their country together.

145.1210

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לרובם סרדן

שוב הודתנו על דיווחיך בדרך המוסיפים לנו רבות להבהרת התמונה הלא-כל-כך-ברורה של נושא זה.

הרוס המהקבל עתה הוא כי תנועת SANU מוצלח לפלגים ורסיסים  
 שובים. במקביל האחרון דיווח כי כמה ממנהיגיה כמו  
 ODUHO התפזרו סביב עקב גישתו הפיסבית של  
 WILLIAM DENG (אגב, האם יצרו ארגון או מסגרת חדשה?). בנוסף לזאת  
 בודע לנו לאחרונה על ארגון תנועה חדשה SOUTHERN SUDAN FREEDOM  
 FIGHTER UNION OF CONSERVATIVES, מי שהיה מנהיג המחתרת הדרום-סודנית באזור  
 בחד אל ב' אבל וברח מסם לקט"א. בעבר מונה כמזכיר לענייני אוצר ב"מספלת"  
 SANU אך עתה פרש. תנועתו היא כנראה הקיצוצית ביותר ודורשת בתוך  
 מוחלט של דרום סודן לעצמאות מדינתה לאלתר. אחד ממנהיגי תנועה חדשה זו  
 PAJAK, אף הוא מאבני SANU לעבר, בקר במגריחותו בגיירובי, וספר  
 על האתגרי התנועה ובקש שנממן סיסמו של המנהיג MORWEL מק"מא  
 למזרח אפריקה. ~~המנהיגים החדשים~~ ~~המנהיגים החדשים~~ ~~המנהיגים החדשים~~ ~~המנהיגים החדשים~~ ~~המנהיגים החדשים~~

עדיין סתומה עבורנו שאלת הפקוד והכרזת המדיניים של חנוכה המתחלת  
עצמה הקרויה ANYA NYA והפועלת בתוך דרום סודן עצמה. בזמן האחרון  
ראינו ידיעות כי למעשה הפקוד עליה נמצא בידי מפלגת SOUTHERN FRONT  
שהיא חנוכה רשמית בתוך סודן ואשר קבלה עמה 3 כסאות במפלגה החדשה של  
סודן. אולם לאחרונה קבלנו דרום מלודון המצביע על כך כי גם ה-ANYA NYA  
מפועלת לסייעות רבות שלק חלק מהן סקימות קשר עם SOUTHERN FRONT

בשטח לשמוע סמך דורות נוספים ובקוה שיוכלו לסייע לנו להבהיר  
הנקודות הסתומות.

ב ב ר כ ה

פראג פארן

העתק: ☒ השגרירות, אדיס



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ס"ק  
ט"ז

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
K A M P A L A  
P. O. BOX 3952  
כ"ג בסיון תשכ"ה  
23.6.65  
103.5

טגרירות ישראל  
770

אל מר י. בירן, אדיס אבבה

מאת השגרירות, קמפלה

דרום סודאן

אחז מהמנהיגים הדרום סודאנים GEORGE KWAKAI  
שמוצאו מהפרובינציה UPPER NILE הודיעני כי הוא  
מתכוון לצאת לאתיופיה ולפעול שם.

קואנאי היה האחראי לענייני אינפורמציה ב-SANU  
ומהומכי ג'וזף אווהו. לאחר הפיצול בסאנו פעל למען  
קו יותר קיצוני ולוחם והתנגד לכל פשרות. הוא מסתבדין  
החריפים של ויליאם דנג. השתתף בוועידת ח'רטום.

קואנאי בחר אינמליגנטי מאד ומסיסדי סאנו וכדאי  
לעמוד אתו בקשר באם יש לכם ענין בקבלת אינפורמציה על  
ההתפתחויות בדרום סודאן.

בברכה

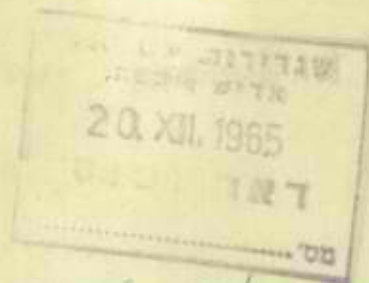
א. עודד

העמק: מאף





ירושלים, יד' בכסלו תשכ"ו  
8 בדצמבר 1965



הצגה  
2/11  
מס' 3018  
מס' 961

961

ש.מ.ר

אל : הנציגות באפריקה/ג'ס.א.מ.ס.

מאת : מנהל מא"ף

### הנדון: דרום סודאן

... 1. רצ"ב צלום קטע מה- Observer הבריטי מיום 21  
בנובמבר 1965, המספר על סיועם של אנשי חיל האוויר הבריטי לצבא סודאן  
במלחמתו נגד הדרומיים.

במקומות שניתן הדבר, תוכלו להשתמש בידעה כדי להראות  
כיצד מסתייע האימפריאליזם הערבי בכוחות זרים כדי לזכא מאבק אפריקאני  
צודק.

... 2. רצ"ב צלום קטע משבועון היוצא לאור בדהוסיי  
שהוא בטאון הממשלה למעשה. המאמר מזדהה עם מאבקם של הדרום-סודאנים  
לשחרור ומתקיף את ערביי סודאן וכן את מצרים ששלחה לדבריו פלוגת  
קומנדו לזכוי הדרומיים. מדובר כאן במפורש על קולוניאליזם וגזענות  
ערביים.

לשמוש בשיחותיכם. אנו מעוניינים בדיווח על יחסן של  
מדינות אפריקה לבעית דרום סודאן ונבקשכם להעביר לנו הדים שהקלטו  
משיחות בנושא.

בברכה,

חשה לשם

העתק: באו"ם, ניו-יורק  
השגרירות, וושינגטון  
השגרירות, לונדון  
השגרירות, פאריס  
המוסד

# RAF pilots help Sudan fight rebels

from our own Reporter

KHARTOUM, November 20

OBSERVER

NOV. 21, 1965

OFFICERS of the Royal Air Force on secondment to the Sudanese armed forces as a training mission are helping the Sudanese Government to suppress the armed revolt in the country's three southern provinces.

They are making sorties from Juba, the Equatoria province headquarters, under orders from the local Army commander.

Over the past three months these flying missions have, I understand, proved vital for Sudanese troops cut off in isolated camps in thick forest in the Azande district and in other parts of the province where the rains have made road communications impossible.

The southern rebel organisation, Anya-Nya, launched its first harassing raids in September, 1963, but after a virtual cease-fire between November, 1964, and April this year, Anya-Nya has stepped up its attacks.

Its units, which do not appear to have any central command, fight with modern automatic rifles bought from Congolese rebels or stolen from arms convoys sent to the Congo through Sudan.

The precise role of the five R.A.F. pilots at Juba who form part of the training mission is difficult to determine.

## Airstrip out of action

Reports that they merely act as pilots when raids are carried out cannot be confirmed. I understand, though, from sources in Juba that R.A.F. personnel are employed mainly in flying food, stores—and, at times, arms and ammunition—in Fokker Friendship aircraft to the garrisons in the province.

Only one Sudanese Army pilot has so far been trained to fly this type of aircraft, which is said to be far more effective in a supply role than the Dakotas and Dorniers with which the air wing is equipped.

Many of the towns and garrisons in Equatoria have their own airstrips in safe areas, but at Yambio, the centre for the Azande district, the airstrip is 16 miles from the town. It was recently in the hands of Anya-Nya and was made unserviceable.

The garrison at Yambio, which is in thick forest country, has therefore had to be supplied by tricky air drops carried out by R.A.F. pilots.

The presence of British pilots in the south is part of a training agreement between Britain and the Sudanese armed forces, which have long-standing ties with Britain.

Both Sudanese official and British sources consider this to be normal technical aid in the military field, and the withdrawal of the pilots at this stage would both be in breach of the training agreement and, it is argued, tantamount to taking sides in the tricky southern Sudan dispute.

Reports from Juba last week suggested that as three Friendship aircraft were grounded through damage or lack of spares, no flying missions had been carried out by the R.A.F. for several days.

L'AUBE NOUVELLE

20.11.65

# LE DRAME SOUDANAIS

## L'appel tragique des Soudanais du Sud menacés d'anéantissement

A l'heure où l'on veut construire l'Afrique, à l'heure où on parle d'unité africaine, n'y a-t-il pas scandale lorsque sous le fallacieux prétexte de « non immixtion dans les affaires intérieures d'un Etat frère » on garde le silence sur un problème aussi grave que celui du Sud-Soudan ? L'Aube Nouvelle ne veut pas être complice d'un pareil scandale. C'est pourquoi nous publions cet appel qui nous est parvenu, et nous invitons chacun à prendre position.

## Quatre millions d'Africains condamnés à mort ! ! !

« Le Soudan est un pays et il doit avoir une seule langue et une seule culture. Nous sommes prêts à anéantir les trois quarts de la population pour atteindre ce but ».

Ces paroles prononcées en 1962 par Charraf el-Dine, l'un des dirigeants arabes de la Province Equatoriale, ont été mis à exécution par l'armée soudanaise.

Durant le dernier mois seulement, on estime à près de six mille les Africains tués dans les provinces du Sud.

Dans une seule de ces actions, environ un millier de citoyens comprenant des vieillards, des femmes et des enfants ont été massacrés dans les trois villes de Juba, Wau et Malakkal où les unités de l'armée soudanaise se sont adonnées à une orgie de meurtres et de destruction.

## Les Egyptiens complices

Les Soudanais n'étaient pas seuls dans cette furie de meurtres. A leurs côtés, il y avait des unités de l'armée égyptienne, envoyées pour aider leurs frères à Khartoum. Des prisonniers ont révélé qu'un bataillon de Commandos égyptiens avait été secrètement envoyé au Sud et prenait part aux combats en uniforme de l'armée soudanaise. En même temps, des Mig, pilotés par des Egyptiens, bombardaient nos villages, brûlant et détruisant un nombre incalculable de maisons, et mitraillaient nos civils.

## Un choix atroce

Les Arabes nous ont donné le choix : ou bien renoncer à notre culture, notre langue et notre héritage africain et nous soumettre à la domination arabe, ou bien être effacés de la carte !

Au Doudan, aujourd'hui, l'Arabe méprise l'Africain. Les Arabes cherchent à détruire notre identité africaine, notre dignité nationale et notre fierté d'Africain. C'est le pire des colonialismes, basé sur la politique raciste de la supériorité arabe.

Nous ne nous soumettrons jamais à ce suicide politique, culturel et physique. Nous nous battons jusqu'à la dernière goutte de sang du dernier de nos soldats plutôt que d'accepter qu'un pouvoir étranger — les Arabes — nous soit imposé.

## Six millions de morts

Nous faisons appel à tous les Africains et à tous les anti-colonialistes dans le Monde. Nous voulons la paix. Nous ne désirons pas la guerre. Nous réclamons une solution pacifique qui nous accorde l'indépendance qui nous revient. Nous demandons à être libérés du joug arabe, ce joug qui a organisé le Marché des Esclaves dans notre pays. Pouons — nous oublier que durant la Période Mahdia, notre population fut réduite de 8 millions qu'elle était à moins de 2 millions !

Aujourd'hui, des atrocités sont commises qui égalent celles commises à l'époque des marchands d'esclaves. Jamais, depuis cette époque terrible, tant d'Africains n'ont été massacrés comme maintenant.

Que la conscience de l'Afrique se réveille ! Ne restez pas neutres devant ce combat d'Africains luttant pour la liberté contre le colonialisme Arabe. Aidez-nous à gagner notre indépendance afin que nous puissions continuer à vivre dans notre propre pays comme des citoyens libres, fiers de notre héritage africain.

Vive l'Afrique ! ! !

Vive l'indépendance  
d'Azania ! ! !



הנציגות האירופית

סגור  
נע  
הנציגות  
האירופית

ירושלים, יב' בכסלו תשכ"ו  
6 בדצמבר 1965

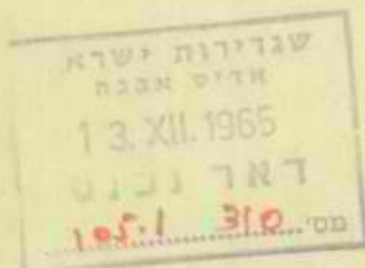
961

ס ס ר

אל : הנציגות באפריקה. 613

מאת : מנהל מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודאן



... 1. רצ"ב צלום קטע מה- Observer הבריטי  
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אפריקאני צודק.

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משיחות בנושא.

בברכה,  
משה לט

העמק: באו"ם, ביר-יורק.  
הסגרירות, וושינגטון  
הסגרירות, לונדון  
הסגרירות, פאריס  
המוסד





13/0 - 13/0

ט ו ר י

29.9.65

הגדרות: המבנה השבטי בדרום סודן.

UPPER NIL - 1 ; STAPHEWS LAM

משיחה עם

השבט העיקרי הוא ה- <sup>NUM</sup> המהווה 2/3 מכלל האוכלוסיה. מרבית מנהיגי המהגרת הדרום סודנית הנם משבט זה, כולל מיליט פדק, שיטבנס לם ודניאל מטיוס. בעבר היה זה שבט לוחמים שעסקו בהטיסות על שבטים אחרים, שדרו בקר וחשפו ילדים אותם הנכו כבני השבט. חלק משבט זה חי בגמבלה, באחיומיה ולכן קל לאנשי המהגרת הדרום סודנית משבט זה להופיע באחיומיה כאחיומים.

DINKA

בני שבט ה-

UPPER NIL

כמו כן מהגוררים ב-

NUM

אך מ ביתם יושבים בבאר אל גבל, הם קרובים קרבה דם ל-

מצויים גם שני שבטים קטנים בשם

UPPER NIL

ב-

אקוטוריה יושבים בני שבט ה- ACHOLI

ANUAK SHULUK

AGORRY JADEN

אשר חלקם יושב גם באוגנדה

נשיא <sup>SALP</sup> מוצאו משבט זה. כן מהגוררים במרובינציה זו קבוצה שבטי

BARI

ה-

למרות רשומי השבט אין הכדלים אתניים בולטים בין השבטים ואין נגזרים

ANYA HDA

ומהגרת ה-

SALP

חריטים בחוף חנועה

אין להבדלים שבטיים כל השמעה, ואין סממנים מנימיים בחוף החנועה על רקע זה.

חומעה אחת מהחנועה נחקלת בה היא שלקחים מומיעים מהקרים מקומיים

של יחידות מחתרת שלא מונו ולא כפופים להנהגה ומנו עצמם לאפקיר זה.

בסיורו במקור הצפוני של

PHILIP PEDAK

אחת המפרות של

המהגרת באזור הגובל עם אחיומיה היא לבדוק חומעה זו ולחטלה.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

י. בירן

משרד החוץ

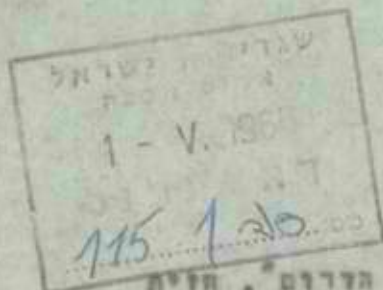
מחלקת החקר

שם העתון: רזו אליוסף, שבועון, קהיר

תאריך: 19.4.65

אסמכתא ג/ 196

הנדון: גוף חדש בדרום סודאן



בדרום סודאן הוקם גוף חדש בשם "החזית האוטונומית של הדרום". חזית זו קבעה מטרה לפעולה לאומית השואפת, ראשית כל, לסמירה אל אחדות הפנימית של הסודאן ולהתנגדות לכל מה שיביא לפצול הפרישה.

חזית זו אינה קשורה לכל גוף מפלגתי וזכות ההצטרפות אליה פתוחה לדיומיים וצפוניים. לכן היא מתנגדת לעריכת הבחירות בצפון בלבד, כי זוהי הכרה, ללא יודעין, בפצול.

א.ח.

דפ/ששי

תאריך ההפצה: 26.4.65

תפוצה: אבריאל, סא"ר, כז"ת, <sup>ו</sup>אדיס, קמפלה, ליאו.



תעודת זיהוי

המשרד הפנים

שם-משפחה: \_\_\_\_\_

תאריך: \_\_\_\_\_

מספר: \_\_\_\_\_

מקום: \_\_\_\_\_



התעודה הזו היא תעודת זיהוי, המעידה על זהותו של המעניין, ונמצאת בבעלותו. התעודה הזו היא תעודת זיהוי, המעידה על זהותו של המעניין, ונמצאת בבעלותו.

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תאריך: \_\_\_\_\_

מקום: \_\_\_\_\_



משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ד' באלול תשכ"ה  
1 בספטמבר 1965



אל  
שגרירות ישראל אויס  
שגרירות ישראל קטמלה  
שגרירות ישראל נירובי  
שגרירות ישראל ליאופולדויל  
שגרירות ישראל אקרה  
שגרירות ישראל בנגי

סאח : מחלקת החקר

(1) העתון הירדני "אלמנאר" החל ב- 29.8.65 לפרסם סדרת מאמרים על בעיית דרום סודאן סאח כתבו שאכר אלנאבלס.

לדבריו, נודע על חכנית אתיופית- אוגנדית - קניאטית - קונגולזית - גאנית השואפת ליצירת חזית סדינית שתכלול את התנועה הערבית אסלאמית בסודאן ובאפריקה באופן כללי.

(2) אנו מעוניינים בפרטים מקסימליים על עטרת סדינותיכם כלפי בעית דרום - סודאן, על התכניות להקמת סדינת סודרים סודאנית בבולה ובמיוחד על פעילות סודית בסודאן.

היחסים בין סודאן ומצרים התהדקו בזמן האחרון. בספטמבר ש.ז. יבקרו במצרים ר"ם סודאן (לאחר הפסקה הערבית) ומשלחת כלכלית בראשות שר המסחר והתעשייה.

ראש משלחת סודאן מנהל מגעים הדוקים וסתמידיים עם השגריר המצרי.

מצד שני שאיפות ההתפשטות המצריות יפלו על קרקע פוריה במספר חוגים בסודאן. האגור הסוציאליסטי-דמוקרטי הכולל את המפלגה הקומוניסטית, מפלגת העם הדמוקרטית הפרו-מצרית אלת אנווי הסטכילים, החקלאים והפועלים, סך הכל תשקף את המצב הכלכלי והחברתי בסודאן.

אגור זה פנה בדרישה לממשלה לבחן את היחסים עם מעצמות המערב ולפנות למצרים בבקשה לסיוע.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

ד"ר פומרנץ









משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ט' ניסן תשכ"ה  
11 אפריל 1965



אל: השגרירות, ארץ  
דאר-אם-סלאם  
בנגי  
ניירובי  
ליאופולדויל  
לגרס  
אקרה

מאת: טא"ף

הנדון: סיכום שיחת הרטום בין אנשי הצפון והדרום סודאנים

רצ"ב לעיונכם העתק סכתבו של אריה עודד-משגיר וחברו בקמפלה בנדרון:

הנציג הגבאי שהשתתף בשיחת ספר כי הדרומיים היו תקיפים מאד בחגיפתם ליציאת סרדאן מהליגה הערבית. כאחד התבאים להשתתפותם בבחירות ושמירה על שלמות המדינה, ורק בגדר המשקיפים מבחוץ הצליחו למנוע קצתאון טוחלת. סוכם כי יהיה תורן של ראשי מדינות אפריקניים שיתכנסו בארטום כדי לפסוק פסק סחייב על התבאים שהושבו, סולל הב"ל. בין ראשי המדינות נכללים בקרומה, דאבוטה טאליהם יתורספו צפון אפריקני ועוד ראש מדינה מדרום לסהרה.

בקרומה סוכן עקרונית לצאת להרטום לשליחת התורן למצפים עתה להבהרת החסובה ולתגובות האחרים.

ב ב ר כ ה

אגס לוי

ל. סידים







EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

K A M P A L A

P. O. BOX 2952

כ"ו באדר ב' תשכ"ה  
30.3.65  
103.5

שגרירות ישראל

389

אל מאף

מאת השגרירות, קמפלה

לסיכום שיחות ח'רסום בין אנשי הצפון והדרום  
למכתבכם 806 מ-22.3.65

1. השיחות שנסיימו השבוע לא הביאו לכלל הסכם בין אנשי הצפון והדרום על עתיד הממשל בדרום-סודאן. עם זאת הוסכם על המשך ההדברות בבסיון להגיע להסכם. בקבעה ועדה בת 12 איש שתיוצג את שני הצדדים ושתנסה למצוא גרסה פשרה.

2. השיחות היו תוצאה ישירה של ההסכם הסודני-אוגנדי מדצמבר 1964 (ר' מכתבנו 1312 מ-21.12.64). בהם הבעה ממשלת אוגנדה את שאיפתה למציאת הסדר מהיר לבעיית דרום סודאן.

3. השאלה אם להשתתף בשיחות אם לאו הביאה לחילוקי דעות ולפילוגים בקרב SAMU. הפילוג החריף ביותר היה בין WILLIAM DENG המזכיר הכללי של סאבו שתמך בעריכת השיחות בסודאן לבין JOSEPH ODHIAMBO שנתמך ע"י רוב מנהיגי סאבו, ומנהיגי הלוחמים בסודאן שהפילו ספק בתועלת שבשיחות באם לא יוסכם מראש שמטרת השיחות להביא להפרדה של דרום סודאן. כן הם דרשו שהשיחות באם יקוימו לא יתנהלו בסודן אלא באוגנדה או בארץ אחרת.

4. בתחילת פברואר הודיע WILLIAM DENG כי סיכם עם ממשלת סודאן לקיים את השיחות בג'ובה ב-18.2. הצד הדרום סודאני יהיה מיוצג ע"י 18 איש מח'רסום ("החזית הדרומית") 2 נציגים מכל אחד משלושת המחוזות הדרומיים ו-9 נציגים ממנהיגות סאבו באוגנדה. מהצפון ישתתפו 18 איש גם כן.

6. מנהיגי סאבו באוגנדה הביעו סיוד התנגדותם לקיום השיחות. בראש המתנגדים היו:

— מי שנבחר כנשיא סאבו.	Aggrey Jeker
— האחראי לענייני איפורטציה	Oliver Allino
— האחראי לענייני כספים	Harold Rume
— האחראי לענייני חוץ ומי שהיה נשיא סאבו	Joseph Odhiambo
— איש הקשר עם המורדים בדרום-סודאן	Joseph Lagu

הם טענו שבג'ובה מצב הבטחון מעורער ושלום אינו טובת שם, כמו כן שבסאבו עצמה יש חילוקי דעות וסרם התגבשה שדעה אחידה.

7. המתנגדים לשיחות פתחו ע"י Sudanese Christian Association אגודה זו היתה הענף הליגלי של סאבו שפה שאוגנדה אשרה פעילותה. בראשה עומד IBRAHIM NYIRAKO

8. לאור ההתנגדות החליט DENG לצאת עם משלחת בת 9 אנשים לסודאן לנהל את השיחות ובהגובה על כך הודיע נשיא סאבו 19/3/65 על הרצאתו של דנג מהתנועה. בבהר ועד פועל חדש לא כליל את דנג (ר' בספח). דנג טען שפעילות המחתרת הדרום סודאנית בכשלה וכי עתה יש לארגן את סאבו כמפלגה חוקית בתוך סודאן שתלחם על זכויות הדרום-סודאנים.



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

K A K T A B A

P. O. BOX 3952

9. בגלל המצב על גבול ארגנטינה-קונגו, ביקשה ארגנטינה לדחות את השיחות ל-25.2 ובינתיים הגיע לארגנטינה *Prof. Zafala* סגן נשיא האוניברסיטה של ח'רסום לשכנע את מנהיגי סאנו להשתתף בשיחות, והסכים שהשיחות התקיימו בח'רסום ולא בג'ובה מקום שלדברי סאנו מצב הבטחון מעורער. מנהיגי סאנו דרשו שוב קיום השיחות מחוץ לסודאן.

10. בינתיים הצליח דנג לארגן משלחת של תשעה אנשים ויצא לח'רסום לשיחות מוקדמות והוחלט על דחיה בוספת ל-16.3 כדי לנסות לשנות עמדת מנהיגי סאנו. בעשה מאמץ בוסף ע"י שיגורו לארגנטינה של שר הפנודה הסודאני (שהוא מאבטי הדרום).

11. בעקבות הדיונים עם השר ובעקבות לחץ ארגנטיני על אנשי סאנו להשתתף בשיחות הם הסכימו לבסוף להשתתף (מנהיגי סאנו בארגנטינה הרי תלויים במידה רבה ברצון הסוב של ארגנטינה לתת להם מקלט). בראש המשלחת עמד *Philip Tseng* סגן נשיא סאנו שבילה תמיד עמה יותר אהדה להשתתפות בשיחות (ששום כך אף הוצא פעם מהוצד הפועל - ר' בספה). עם זאת הודיע *Gaden* שאם כי סאנו הסכימה להשתתף בשיחות הרי שהיא לא תשתתף בפיתרון שלא יביא למתן הגדרה עצמית לדרום והפרדתו מהצפון. בראש משלחת המשקיפים מארגנטינה עמד שר הפנים פליקס אובאטה, והשתתף בה גם איש משרד החוץ הארגנטיני (כידוע שלחו משקיפים גם קביה, גאנבה, ביגריה, קעס, טנזניה ואלג'יריה).

12. אכן מתוך ידיעות שהגיעו על השיחות מסתבר שאנשי סאנו עמדו על דעתם שיש להפריד לחלוטין את הדרום מהצפון, בעוד שאנשי הצפון דרשו סודאן מאוחדת שבמסגרתה תנתן אוטונומיה מחוזית וממשלה מקומית לדרום. ב-29.3 נסתיימו השיחות ללא שהגיעו לכלל איזו שהיא פשרה.

13. יצויין שממשלת סודאן עשתה מאמצים ביכרים לפתור את הדרומים לשיחות ע"י שיגור שליחים רמי מעלה ונתמכה בכך ע"י ממשלת ארגנטינה. מבחינה תעמולתית היא זכתה להישג בזה שהבליטה שאיפתה לפתרון בדרכי שלום. לעומת זאת הרוב בסאנו לא האמין מלכתחילה שביתן למצוא פתרון בשיחות ויצא לח'רסום רק כתוצאה מכפיה ולחץ וגם מתוך שיקול שאם לא ילכו לשיחות הוכל ממשלת סודאן להוקיעם כמתנגדים להסכם במו"מ ישיר ובדרכי שלום. המצב לאחר השיחות אינו טובה מהמצב לפני כן אם כי ממשלת סודאן וגם ממשלת ארגנטינה מורחות להראות כי חלה התקדמות וכאילו קועדת שמונתה (ר' סעיף 1) ים סיכויים למצוא בוסחת פשרה שתקבל על דעת שני הצדדים.

בברכה

א. שודד

העתק: הקר  
מדת  
המוסד

Mr. Aggrey Jaden-the President of the Sudan African National Union.

Mr. Dominic Miorwel-National Chairman.

Mr. Philip Pedal Lieth-Vice President.

Mr. Daniel Kuot-Secretary for Legal and Constitutional Affairs.

Mr. Michael Wall-Duang-Finance.

Mr. Morris Lubang-Revenue.

Mr. Peter M. Blet-Home and Refugees Affairs.

Mr. Akuot Atem and Mr. Nathaniel Oyot-Assistant Secretaries for special functions.

Mr. Laurence Wol Wol-Education and Youth.

Mr. Oliver Albino-Information.

Mr. Samuel Renzi-Organising Secretary.



## מברק צפון יוצא אל

מספר	אל: מא"פ, מז"ח, המוסד			
	סמך: דיבון			
לסלך	לסלי	סימון המחבר 3	תאריך ושעת הכתיב 2.4.65	דרגת החיות

סודאן מסקורות אתיופיים ואמריקאיים

1. ועידת חיסום בענייני דרום סודאן נכשלה גם בגלל אי רצון המפלגות הצפוניות להתקרב לעמדות הדרומיים לגופו של ענין ובגלל שיקולי בחירות, בועידה בלטר חילוקי דעות ותיכוכים אישיים בהנהגת SAMU כשלא הוסתרה המתיחות בין ג'דן וקוראני. ג'דן חסך למעשה בהסדרה ואסא וצורך בקונפדרציה. מציינים כי מתיבתו של 31 החליטה מפסדו בתבוסה.

2. האומה ו- P.U.P פועלת לקיום הבחירות ב-21 באפריל מתוך הכוונה כי אין לקומוניסטים ואוהדיהם וגורמים פרזמכריים סכוי להגיע להשיגים בבחירות ולעומת זאת הסנך המצב הקיים פועל לטובתם



# הכרזת מלחמה

100-100000

<p>המדינה:</p>				<p>מדינה:</p>
<p>המדינה:</p>				<p>מדינה:</p>
<p>המדינה:</p>	<p>המדינה:</p>	<p>המדינה:</p>	<p>המדינה:</p>	<p>המדינה:</p>



משרד החוץ

ירושלים, י"ח אדר תשכ"ה  
22 מרס 1965



אל:	השגרירות, אדס
	ביירוטי
	דאר-אס-סאלם
	קמפלה
	בבגי
	ליאופולדויל

מאח: מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודאן

אנו מעוניינים לקבל מידע פרטים על שיחות מארגנים בין הצפון והדרום סודאנים, שבהן השתתפו כמשקיפים, עובדי שירות לנו, נציגים מארגנות סודאן אפריקה, ניגריה, גאנה, מצרים ואלג'יר. אנו מבקשים בעיקר לדעת אלו פלגים וסיעות של תנועות השחרור הדרום סודאניות השתתפו ואם הצטיירה תמונה כל שהיא על מערך הכוחות והיחסים ביניהם.

לפי ידיעות שבידינו נסע ויליאם סנג בראש קבוצה של 9 איש בעוד אשר נשיא סאנו, משה ארעא יצא בהכרזה שאינו מכיר בשליחות דנג וכי אינו נמנה יותר על תנועת השחרור. מידעה מאוחרת יותר הסתבר כי ב' ירון - ELIA שאל שאף הוא נמנה על מתנגדי דנג, משתתפים אף הם בכל זאת בשיחות.

ב ב ר כ ה

לא ס' ע' ו'

ל. מידע







**משרד החוץ**

מחלקת החקר



שם העתון:

אל-נהאר, לבנון

תאריך:

6.3.65

אסמכתא ג/

132

הנדון:

אנשי הדרום בסודאן תבעו שארצם  
תפרוש מהליגה הערבית

הסקורות הגבוהים בבירות קיבלו אינפורמציה מח'רטום שבה נאמר, כי הספלגות בדרום סודאן עוררו בעיה בעלת חשיבות רבה ביותר במסגרת המגעים הסתקיימים עתה ביניהן לבין ספלגות הצפון. לפי אינפורמציה זו תבעו הדרומיים כתבאי-יסוד להסכמתם לקבל אוטונומיה במסגרת "פורציה סודאנית" - שסודאן תפרוש מהליגה הערבית. באינפורמציה זו נאמר עוד, כי הדרומיים הקיצוניים טוענים, כי הואיל ואנשי הצפון הכירו בהכרזת הגזע שבין תושבי שני חלקיה של סודאן וכן הכירו בעובדה שהדרום הוא "לא ערבי" - לכן יש הכרח לעיין מחדש במצבה של "המדינה הסודאנית" בליגה הערבית, ובכל המוסדות הערביים האחרים הכפופים לה.

אר/ססי

תאריך ההפצה: 15.3.65

תפוצה:

לשכת שה"ח, לשכת הטכ"ל, ד"ר י. הרצוג, סא"ף, סג' אדיס,  
קפלה, בנג', ניירובי, דאר אס-סאלם.

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2. תחריט זה כי המסמך פתור בפי המביט המיליטרי והמבטור  
 יתקבר מדי המסמך. "המבט מדי" על המסמך המבטור רשם כי  
 המבטור יוכלו להבין "מדי" למסמך פתור כי בייכולת המבטור, המבט  
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 יום למסמך המבטור המבטור.

5. המנהל הממשלתי המרכזי לכאן את המידע במסגרת המידע.  
אני לדעת נציגים למנהל המרכזי את כל המידע, אך יבואו שיהיה עליהם לנהל  
במקום המידע המרכזי המנהל המרכזי המרכזי.

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משרד החוץ

ירושלים, ח' שבט תשכ"ה  
11 ינואר 1965

שגרירות ישראל  
אדיס אבבה

18.1.1965

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סודי

השגרירות, אדיס אבבה  
קמפלה

מאח: מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודן

בהמשך לסברקנו בגדון.

להלן דיווחו של שגרירנו בקניה;

1. שוחחתי עם דניאל מוס, תת שר הבריאות והשכון. כידוע תומך מוס בחביעות SANU ופעם אף חצא בהכרזה רשמית בעניין. אחיו שהוא חבר הפרלמנט באוגנדה, סממט כקצין קשר בין נציגי SANU וממשלות אפריקניות. וזהו ספורו: בשעת חגיגות הרפובליקה של קניה, הוא השתתף בשיחות שהתקיימו בניירובי בין נציגי SANU ושני שרים בממשלת סודאן שבאו לניירובי כנציגי סודאן לחגיגות. אחרי שהדרומיים הציגו את בעיותיהם ועמדו על פילוג סודאן לשתי מדינות לצפון ודרום, הציג מוס פדרציה או קונפדרציה. לפי דבריו, לא שללו חברי הממשלה את האפשרות להקים פדרציה, אך עמדו על כך שנציגי SANU יחזרו לסודאן לשם ניהול מו"מ.
  2. לפני נסיעתו של שר הפנים הקנייני החדש אראף מוי לחרטום ליצג את קניה ביום העצמאות של סודאן בשבוע שעבר, קיים אתו מוס שורה של התייעצויות וסרי הבטיח להביע לפני רוח"ם סודאן את רעת הקהל בקניה ובאוגנדה, המודאגת מן המצב בדרום סודאן. כאשר חזר לניירובי, מסר מוי שכליפה רוח"ם סודאן, הציג את תווך קניאסה במו"מ בין שני הצדדים ואף הביע בכונתו לבוא לשם כך לניירובי.
  3. מוי ידווח לקניאסה, ומוס יראה את רוח"ם לאחר מכן.
  4. מוס בוסה לחשבו שקניאסה יתנגד לדרישות הסודיים לפילוג המדינה, אך יהיה מוכן לסייע להם בחביעותיהם המוצדקות. עד כאן.
- לידיעתכם.

ב ב ר כ ה

יואב בירן

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UNDER COLLEGE CARE.

STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF DALLAS.

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משרד החוץ

(131)

ירושלים, ח; שבס תשכ"ה  
11 ינואר 1965



אל: ✓ השגרירות, אדיס  
קספלה  
מאת: מא"ף

הנדון: דרום סודן

... רצ"ב לידיעתכם קטע של עתון קניאני בו מובאים  
דבריו של המזכיר לענייני חוץ ולעניינים אפריקאים  
של תנועת .SANU

ב ב ר כ ה

י ק י  
יואב בירן



UNITED STATES

RECEIVED, U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JAN 11 1965

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK  
SUBJECT: [illegible]



RE: JOHN EDGAR HOOVER

... THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND IS BEING FURNISHED  
TO YOU FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

U. S. D. J.

U. S. D. J.



## SUDAN PROBLEM CAN KILL O.A.U. SAYS SOUTHERN LEADER

**T**HE problem of the Sudan was one of the major problems that could kill the Organisation for African Unity because it was an Afro-Arab conflict, the External and African Affairs Secretary of the Sudan African National Union (Sanu), Mr. Alphonse Malek Pajok, said in Nairobi yesterday.

"The problem of the Sudan is, if not worse, equal to that of South Africa," Mr. Pajok said. "This is a racial issue and anybody thinking that it is a political issue does not have the true facts."

In South Africa there was the problem of apartheid which separated Whites from Africans. But at the same time Africans, after being driven to poor locations, were allowed to develop in their own ways and according to their own culture.

"In the Sudan Africans are allowed to mix with the Arabs so that they do inferior and manual jobs," Mr. Pajok said. "Africans in Sudan are not allowed to develop their own African dignity and culture."

He called on Sir El Khatim El Khalifa's caretaker Government to split the country into two States, the Southern and the Northern, which would have separate flags for any idea of uniting the Sudan was impossible.

The Sudan was not a single nation because of the racial, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between the North and the South.

Mr. Pajok said he was surprised that some people supported the repressive minority Arab Government in a country which had Africans as the majority people, while the Government was a member of the Arab League.

Sanu had offered the Arabs a chance for negotiations in a

neutral country outside Sudan in the hope that the relationship between Africans and Arabs was not completely exhausted.

But this offer in the interest of national unity and peace had been abused by the Arab Government.

Sanu had now been forced, as a last-ditch move, to take two steps. These were the strengthening of Anyanya (Sanu's army) and asking the two Southern Sudanese Ministers in the caretaker Government to resign.

"Sanu must use all means to send out Arabs from the Southern Sudan," Mr. Pajok said. "Negotiations have failed. The next step is force."

The problem of Sudan involved all other neighbouring African States and must be solved by Africans themselves.

### Mr. Moi's speech in Khartoum

A further account of the speech made by Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Moi, at the independence celebrations in Khartoum (as reported yesterday) shows that he expressed happiness because the Sudanese people now had a transitional Government "after having overthrown a military Government which had caused stagnation for six years".

He called on the Northern and Southern Sudanese to settle their differences, supporting the Government to build their country together.

אל:				מספר 136
מאת:	92			הערה
דרגת דחיפות	תאריך ושעת התקן	סימון המספר	בהמשך לשלי	בתשובה לשלך
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ח"מ/א/ד

דלם - ס'א/א . ס'בי . למקל קניאני .

בשר חמשה היפסציקה גניילובי התקיימו שיח' בין נלימו  
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 לנהיז העל שי הסנים שילם קניה בולם העלמאן בס'צאן  
 לרה עם ויהא ס'צאן לשי הלצ גויק קניאנה ורבוז נכיל'גו  
 א'בוז אלם נק א'ניילובי עלאיום בדיו

ס'צאן 1. 115



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ALPHONSE MALEK MUORATENY PAJOK  
PRESIDENT P. S. ETH. SANU BRANCH

P. O. BOX 2454  
ADDIS ABABA

TEL. OFFICE 47280 Ext. 37  
RESID. 45303

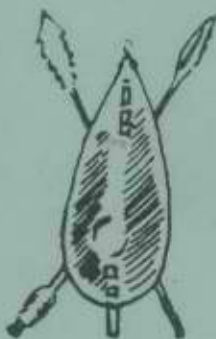


# voice of southern sudan

Published by Sudan African National Union

Vol. 1 No. 3

1963



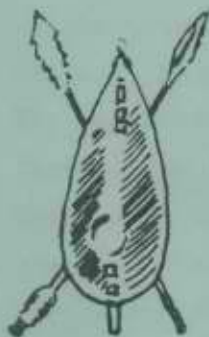
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# *voice of southern sudan*

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Vol. 1 No. 3

1963



*negritude and progress*

# EDITORIAL COMMENT

Kamal El Jak, Vice-Principal, Khartoum Technical Institute, runs away with murder.

The sensational trial of Vice-Principal of K.T.I. is over and has been sentenced to eight years imprisonment for shooting and killing Bol Ajang, a Southern Sudanese, in February 1963. The shooting incident took place one late evening, when Kamal El Jak, armed with a gun, was driving with car headlights not switched on. He ran suddenly into a group of Southerners strolling along the street. They got frightened and shouted to the passing driver to switch on the lights. Mr. Kamal stopped his car, got out, took his gun which was already loaded and walked to the strollers indignant and threatening. The group stopped and Kamal holding his gun questioned them for their impudence in shouting at him to switch on the headlights of his car. Threatening to shoot, one of the Southerners defied him to shoot saying that they were not afraid. While the deceased tried to move sideways Kamal shot him fatally in his thigh breaking it. Then he ran leaving his car. The other Southerners stood shocked and stunned. They did not attack Kamal or his car.

The incident was reported to the police. After obstructionism Kamal was arrested for interrogation. But the following day, Kamal was back at his desk in K.T.I. after having been assured by the investigating Magistrate that the whole affair was a matter of eight days and the whole fuss would be over.

What surprised even Northerners was the fact that the rest of the Southerners who accompanied the deceased were arrested and detained while the wrong doer was free. The investigating Magistrate, despite the obvious facts that constitute premeditated murder, charged Kamal El Jak only of inflicting grievous bodily injuries.

We hold that such an act was a farce and travesty of Justice and is characteristic of how the judicial machinery works in the Sudan and with respect to the Southern Sudanese. It was not surprising that the Magistrate was influenced by the North-South tension and readily listened to false charges that Southern Sudanese have moved into the North with deliberate plans to plunder and murder. Whatever motivated the biased action of the Magistrate in question, his act is indefensible in law and moral order. In such a case it is a general rule of procedure that the investigating Magistrate if not sure of the nature or type of charge he should put down the accused for the maximum charge. In the case in question of culpable homicide amounting to murder, we are bound to conclude that either the Magistrate was ignorant of the Law,

or he was deliberately diverting the course of Justice, in which case he is guilty of a crime. The Magistrate, in this case, is guilty of a crime. The Magistrate, in this case, is guilty of a crime. The Magistrate, in this case, is guilty of a crime.



in which case he does not deserve the important office he holds, or he was biased and deliberately diverted the cause of Justice, in which case he ought to be dismissed forthwith. As stated above, the findings of the investigating Magistrate were rejected by the higher judicial authority. Kamal El Jak was subsequently charged with murder but to our great surprise, he ran away with it, the "eight days" being changed to eight years. The chief Justice has, as has been expected exercised his discretion in favour of Kamal and reduced the sentence for eight to five years. Furthermore, it is stipulated that if Kamal pays L.s. 500.-- (pounds Sudanese) as compensation to the family of the deceased his sentence would next be reduced to eighteen months, which practically means that he will be immediately for good conduct. This is how ingenious Sudan judicial machinery works to conform with political realities of the day. It is worth noting that had Bol Ajang not been killed in the capital (Khartoum), his case like that of many other people in the South, would have been dismissed without intervention of the higher judicial authority. It is probable that it would have been treated as security case to nullify any criminal proceedings against the Northern killer. This shows clearly that Justice does not exist for Southern Sudanese in Sudan courts.

"THE PROBLEM OF THE  
violent attack on Gr  
by Leo Kurr

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" THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN ": Origin of Sudan Government violent attack on Great Britain and the Institute of Race Relations.

by Leo Kurr

The booklet "The Problem of the Southern Sudan" by J. Oduho and William Deng, published by the Institute of Race Relations, has been the source of an outrageous and sentimental attack on Great Britain and the Institute by the Sudan Government.

The two co-authors who are now political refugees and incidentally President and Secretary-General respectively of SANU (the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement) have been attacked in conjunction with the Institute and Great Britain. On the day following the publication of the booklet in London, the Sudan newspapers in Khartoum, published a fierce attack against the booklet, the two authors and Dr. Richard Gray, a former Lecturer of History at the University of Khartoum, who wrote the introduction to this booklet.

Mr. Oduho and Mr. Deng are currently called "traitors, mercenaries of imperialism, manufacturers of lies, agents whose conscience is dead and their tongue addicted to fabrication of lies etc." Of Dr. Gray, the correspondent of El Thawra, Mr. Kamal Hassan Mahmud, says, "the veil has fallen from the ugly, sick and bad-smelling face which moves the two agents from behind the curtains." The booklet itself is described as "a new attempt by British imperialism to come back to the Sudan." Apparently, against Britain, are directed the sharpest arrows of the government newspaper, Al Thawra, June 19th, 1963. "The British imperialism which is today divided in itself by internal scandals, like the Profumo scandal, have started launching a campaign against us, they have intoxicated their sick souls with dreams of return to our country....." The economic and social development in our country, says a Sudanese journalist, "is increasing day by day, while Britain is becoming little by little a second rate and even a third rate nation.... she is be hurled among the backward countries."

It is needless to say that the booklet is banned in the Sudan. A friend who ordered a few copies from London, saw them confiscated at Khartoum Post Office by the government.

In the Introduction, it is clearly stated that both the Northerners and the refugees (Southerners) were invited by the publishers to give their views on the case. But the Northerners refused to say anything until they had seen first what the Southerners had to say.

Southerners have given, firstly, their account of the British policy in the Sudan, without sparing Britain her part of the blame for her policy in the South during the first half of the century (1898-1953). Then comes a brief description of the policy of the Northern Arab



Sudanese towards their "so-called brothers" the Southern Sudan Africans of Negro race and blood." The authors quoting from official documents, both public and secret, show that the aim of the North is to dominate and maintain the South as a source of cheap labour. Such quotations are for instance: The text of the telegram of the Sudanese Prime Minister which caused much distress in the South, and which runs as follows, "To all my administrators in the Southern Provinces, I have just signed a document for self-determination. Do not listen to the childish complaints of the Southerners, persecute them, oppress them, ill-treat them according to my orders," (The Problem of the Southern Sudan, p.29). Although the authenticity of the telegram is now questioned by the Northerners, the authors point out that the government, who knew it was disturbing the public opinion in the South before the revolt, did nothing to reject it.

2) A Southern candidate to Sudan Parliament was disqualified in two consecutive elections by administrators (Arabs) of his constituency, on the ground that he was under age (30 years) as specified by the electoral laws. In 1953, his assessed age was 28 and was therefore ineligible for elections. In 1958, the very same reason was adduced to disqualify him.

3) Arab traders in the South used to say to any Southerners, "after a little while you will be under our feet." (ibid p.23).

4) In Equatoria Province alone, at least 10,000 huts with all belonging have been burnt by Arab administration and army force. In Yei District in 1957, 700 huts were burnt in a single morning in a joint operation by Arab police and soldiers. (ibid p.41). The fact was admitted by the Government as an order issued by the Ministry of Defence as an exemplary punishment to the people of the area where some escapees were supposed to have received shelter.

5) The University of Khartoum had, in 1960, 1216 students of whom only 60 were from the South... The Khartoum Technical Institute has 1,000 students of whom only 30 are from the South (the population of the South is officially estimated as one-third that of the whole country). (ibid p.

We know that Britain is basically responsible for the merger of two regions geographically, politically, culturally and economically different. But the fact that the South is today a police State; that Southerners are deprived of all school and legal privileges enjoyed by Northerners; that the South is being religiously persecuted; that she is being economically and intellectually held down, for all that, can this 7 year old Republic of the Sudan throw the blame on other nations for the discontent of Southerners and for the assertion of their rights? Instead, the Sudan Arab government resolves to passionate and violent attack on Britain and the Institute of Race Relations without objectively and systematically refute the charges as laid out in "The Problem of the Southern Sudan."

Leo Kurr, Nairobi, Kenya.

# U.P.C. YOUTH WING SUPPORTS SELF-

The Uganda People Congress Youth "Uganda Nation" of 26/6/63, which

"It has come to our knowledge for self-determination is a continental revolt against the philosophy of African national concept, but an assertion

The letter continues:

"For ages Arabs offered even slave trade in Africa. We in Kampala to inform his and offensive treatment in

This statement genuinely reflects of the Southern Sudan and their

## KENYA MINISTER BACKS MOVE FOR

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In the same connection, "But the liberation movement as a result of the pro-Moslem Khartoum appears to be becoming governments give their consent is in East Africa, where the

## TWO PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

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 r, Nairobi, Kenya.

#### NEWS - COMMENTS

##### U.P.C. YOUTH WING SUPPORTS SELF-DETERMINATION FOR SOUTHERN SUDAN.

The Uganda People Congress Youth Wing, published a letter in the "Uganda Nation" of 26/6/63, which reads in part:

"It has come to our knowledge that the Southern Sudanese struggle for self-determination is part and parcel of the spontaneous continental revolt against Arab oppression founded on the philosophy of African nationalism. This philosophy is not a racial concept, but an assertion of human dignity...."

The letter continues:

"For ages Arabs offered every ingenious attempt to justify their slave trade in Africa. We wish to tell and warn the Sudan Embassy in Kampala to inform his government to discontinue this brutal and offensive treatment immediately...."

This statement genuinely reflects U.P.C.s understanding of the problem of the Southern Sudan and their changing attitude in favour of her cause.

##### KENYA MINISTER BACKS MOVE FOR S. SUDAN UHURU CALL.

On the 14th June 1963, Mr. Daniel Moss, Kenya Undersecretary for internal affairs, issued a statement backing the Southern Sudan's call for self-determination. Although the Prime Minister of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, rapped Mr. Moss over the knuckles, some Kenya papers acclaimed him as "the early bloomer". We believe that Mr. Moss's statement has important bearing on the Kenya attitude toward the Southern Sudan question.

In the same connection, the "Reporter", of June 22nd, declared: "But the liberation movement which has sprung up in the Southern Sudan as a result of the pro-Moslem, pro-Arab policy being applied from Khartoum appears to be becoming more vocal and whether the East African governments give their consent or not the Headquarters of the Movement is in East Africa, where the Sudan African National Union has its office!"

##### TWO PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN DISAPPEAR, FOUND DEAD.

In the beginning of June, two boys from Isoke Primary School, Torit District, were reported missing. They were later found dead, stabbed with bayonets. The villagers discovered that they were murdered by the Northern night patrol troops. No investigation has been yet carried out.



### ARMY LOOT AT YIRE

On June 27th, the military garrison at Palwar, Acholiland in Equatoria province, arrested a villager at Yire. They plundered his bushel of grain, beat him and obliged him to work arround Oran, their camp. The soldiers alleged that he was rude and obstructed military inspection of his homestead. On June 28th, the detainee escaped from the camp. The platoon went out hunting for him and came threatening the villagers of Yire. Under such treats the villagers began to run away while the army fired at them. They shot a lame man who was unable to escape with his fugitive fellow villagers. He was then take for treatment, but his chances of survival are still remote. During the same incident, the army confiscated property from the village of Yire.

### ISLAM: PRICE FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

On June 16th 1963, the Province Education Officer in Juba sent an urgent letter to the Inspector of Local Government, Juba, and to all Executive Officers in Equatoria Province. In the letter A.M. Sharaf El Din, writing for the Education Officer, presented a list of 80 names, almost all Christians. The letter read as follows:

- 1) Attached herewith a list of boys who are accepted in Totit and Yambio Maahad Intermediate Schools.
- 2) Will you please arrange for their transport to their schools chargeable against Department of Religious Affairs, Khartoum.
- 3) The day of opening of the above mentioned schools is 1/7/63.

Copies to: all head masters, Equatoria Province; Village School Inspectors; Director, Dept. of Religious Affairs, Khartoum; A/Permanent Undersecretary, Ministry of Education, (E.P.) Juba.

(Letter: PEOE/12.B.5 of 16th June 1963)

Finally the communique concludes that the boys had demanded to enter the Maahad Schools and were accepted by Sharaf El Din.

Notice, the essence and nature of the Maahad Intermediates, is to prepare the boys who are to become future teachers in Koran and are meant for those who are Moslem. They are built, subsidized and maintained by the Department of Religious Affairs. But, as one reads along the list one notices such name as Agustino, Paul, Barnaba etc. Hence, these are the people being forced to embrace Islam and become teachers of Koran. No wonder, this is the fate of Christianity. The true reason behind the move is to make Islam become the price of education, i.e. those boys will be faced with one alternative; to reject Islam and abandon education or to accept education and become Moslems.

It is obvious that Section 8 of the Missionary Societies Act as well as the EP/SCR/46.B.2/2(b) would come into effect if only it concerned forcing a Moslem to become a Christian and not the vice versa.

### SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS

as published by "Al Thawra" 27th

No	Name of School
1	Wadi Seidna
2	Hantub
3	Khor Taggat
4	Port Sudan
5	Ahafad(Boys)
6	Ahlia Omdurman
7	Congress Omdurman
8	Khartoum(Boys)
9	Comboni College Khartoum
10	Atbara
11	Comboni Atbara
12	Medani(Boys)
13	El Fasher
14	Juba Commercial
15	Rumbek
16	Khartoum Commercial
17	Technical
18	Omdurman(Girls)
19	Mahdi (Girls)
20	Khartoum (Girls)
21	American Mission
22	Unity High School(Girls)
23	Ahfad (Girls)
24	K.T.I.(evening class)
25	Bait El Amana
26	Private Candidates

### Comment

It is worth mentioning Schools for the three South a population of about four

Due to the last October of the Intermediate and Secondary considered it inappropriate tyranny and vindictive punishment. In Rumbek, for instance, Examination. Under normal least 60 students in the examination under unusual extremely encouraging. Were unsuccessful.



SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS (SECONDARY SCHOOLS)

as published by "Al Thawra" 27th June 1963.

No	Name of School	Division 1	Div. 2	Div. 3	Total
1	Wadi Seidna	35	61	49	145
2	Hantub	38	50	63	151
3	Khor Taggat	28	57	48	133
4	Port Sudan	23	43	51	117
5	Ahafad (Boys)	4	17	41	62
6	Ahlia Omdurman	16	29	40	85
7	Congress Omdurman	13	21	18	52
8	Khartoum (Boys)	11	17	24	52
9	Comboni College Khartoum	2	6	15	23
10	Atbara	13	22	17	52
11	Comboni Atbara	1	3	4	8
12	Medani (Boys)	14	25	20	59
13	El Fasher	13	28	11	52
14	Juba Commercial	5	6	6	17
15	Rumbek	15	9	18	42
16	Khartoum Commercial	2	19	19	40
17	Technical	-	2	5	7
18	Omdurman (Girls)	2	10	31	43
19	Mahdi (Girls)	-	1	2	3
20	Khartoum (Girls)	4	15	26	45
21	American Mission	-	-	-	-
22	Unity High School (Girls)	3	1	5	9
23	Ahfad (Girls)	1	2	7	10
24	K.T.I. (evening class)	2	5	22	29
25	Bait El Amana	-	4	6	10
26	Private Candidates	3	37	90	130

Comment

It is worth mentioning that No's 14 and 15 are the only Secondary Schools for the three Southern Provinces providing higher learning for a population of about four million.

Due to the last October collective strike in Southern Schools, many of the Intermediate and Secondary students were dismissed while others considered it inappropriate to return to their respective schools where tyranny and vindictive punishments rendered study conditions irrelevant. In Rumbek, for instance, only 37 students sat for the Sudan Certificate Examination. Under normal conditions, Rumbek Secondary should have at least 60 students in the final year. Although the students did their examination under unusual circumstances, the results are by and large, extremely encouraging. With 35 students from Rumbek, only five of them were unsuccessful.



#### Distribution of New Secondary Schools.

In its issue of 23.6.63, "Al Thawra" writes: Our correspondent reports the new Secondary Schools have been distributed as follows:-

- |                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| a) Dongola        | Two Schools |
| b) El Obeid       | " "         |
| c) Khartoum North | " "         |
| d) Rufa's         | " "         |
| e) Singa          | One School  |
| f) Kassala        | " "         |
| g) El Gedaref     | " "         |
| h) Berber         | " "         |

#### Streams to be added to present Secondary Schools.

##### Boys Schools

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| a) | One stream to Medani to become five streams.      |
| b) | " " " Khartoum to become five streams.            |
| c) | " " " Khartoum Commercial to become four streams. |
| d) | " " " El Fasher to become three streams.          |

##### Girls Schools

- |    |          |                  |
|----|----------|------------------|
| a) | Kosti    | Two Schools(new) |
| b) | Omdurman | One Stream       |
| c) | Khartoum | One Stream       |

##### Comment

In regard to new schools, it is interesting to note that the Ministry of Education has deliberately ignored the Southern Sudan. Obviously, this policy of discrimination shows to what extent the Sudan Government is determined to keep down the South intellectually and to ignore her in educational programmes.

Two years ago a school known as Malakal Secondary School and alleged to be for the South, was surprisingly opened in one of the Northern towns. From very reliable sources - close to the government, we understand that more than 95% of the student are Northerners. Well, with such a large percentage of Northerners, would it be right or logical to call such a school a Southern school? God forbid! Here, as above, the government is being courageous by depriving the South of any new proposed schools.

In a subsequent issue, we shall discuss the whole educational pattern in the Southern Sudan in comparison to what is being done in the North.

#### SUDAN GOVERNMENT EMBARKS ON THE

In its issue of 28.6.63, El states that a sum of L.S. 74'50 upgrading religious schools, a to the same newspaper, the gove determined to spend every penny Aid for the spread of Islam and

The report from El Rai El shed in the government newspaper utions in the Sudan. In its is Islamic University" Al Thawra

"Sayed Dr Kamil El Bagir. Affairs, has told us that the given his consent for the upgr standard of a college and then must start immediately.

##### Comment

(It is worth mentioning t Religious Affairs as early as Islamic culture). If through hugh sums of money to subsid the same for Christian Societ under the pretext of religious societies to build their own shows the government's bad fa and is a flagrant breach of U publicly endorsed.

#### MARINO MODI DEAD

The South is bereaved by distinguished high ranking So Mr. Modi died on August 16th a course in the English lang Mr. Modi was a holder of a B the Sudan Ministry of Educat He was transfered to Rumbek the time he left for the U.K English Department at the ab arable loss to the Sudan, th

# SUDAN GOVERNMENT EMBARKS ON THE POLICY OF ARABIZATION AND ISLAMIZATION.

In its issue of 28.6.63, El Rai El Amm, one of the Khartoum dailies states that a sum of L.S. 74'500.-- has been allotted by the government for upgrading religious schools, and for the building of new ones. According to the same newspaper, the government of the Republic of the Sudan, is determined to spend every penny, including American, British and German Aid for the spread of Islam and of Arabic language throughout the country.

The report from El Rai El Amm confirms a statement previously published in the government newspaper "Al Thawra", concerning Islamic Institutions in the Sudan. In its issue of 23.6.63 under the title "Omdurman Islamic University" Al Thawra reports as follows:-

"Sayed Dr Kamil El Bagir, Director of the Department of Religious Affairs, has told us that the Minister of Education and Instructions has given his consent for the upgrading of Omdurman Maahad El Ilmi to the standard of a college and then to that of a university, and that the work must start immediately.

## Comment

(It is worth mentioning that the Sudan created the Department of Religious Affairs as early as 1955 to facilitate the spread of Islam and Islamic culture). If through this department, the government should allot huge sums of money to subsidize the spread of Islam, why does she not do the same for Christian Societies? If she allows Moslems to build schools under the pretext of religious centres, why does she not allow Christian societies to build their own schools in the Southern Sudan? This attitude shows the government's bad faith towards Christian populations in the Sudan, and is a flagrant breach of United Nations' Charter that the Sudan has publicly endorsed.

## MARINO MODI DEAD

The South is bereaved by the death of Mr. Marino Modi, one of the distinguished high ranking Southerner in the Sudanese administration to-day. Mr. Modi died on August 16th 1963, at Cardiff, Wales, U.K. while attending a course in the English language at the College of Advanced Technology. Mr. Modi was a holder of a B.A. degree from Cairo University. He joined the Sudan Ministry of Education in 1957 when he taught at Wadi Seidna. He was transferred to Rumbek Secondary School in 1958 where he taught to the time he left for the U.K. for this course. Mr. Modi was head of the English Department at the above school. The death of Modi is an irreparable loss to the Sudan, the South in particular.



#### REPORT FROM SANU CENTRAL OFFICE

The state of affairs in the Southern Sudan has been steadily deteriorating since our last report.

#### MURDER OF GISMALLA MOHAMMED

In Kapoeta (Eastern District) a Southern Sudanese Moslem policeman named, Gismalla Mohammed, was shot dead by his officer, Babikir El Khidir. The story is that Gismalla, returning from trek, found his officer playing "daddy and mummy" with his wife. He was naturally annoyed and ordered the officer to quit his house, the officer thereupon drew his revolver and shot him dead. He then ordered his bodyguard to place a rifle by the side of the dead man to make it appear that he had committed suicide, this order was accordingly carried out. When Mr. Barnaba Toroyo Kisanga, Inspector of Local Government, Kapoeta(D.C.), wanted to investigate the case he was threatened. The next day, he was called to Juba where he was further threatened and told to keep his mouth shut. He was subsequently promoted and transferred to the North. The wife of the deceased was taken to her village, bribed and told to keep quiet.

#### THE DEATH OF ISAIAH OBOKO.

Isaiah Oboko was murdered in Shendi, a town 112 mile North of Khartoum. He was a soldier serving in the Northern Command. He was a Southerner from Nimule. Mr. Isaiah was given leave and effectively set out for the South, on reaching Kosti, he was suddenly ordered to go back to his centre, for reasons that were not told to him, when he arrived in Shendi, he was arrested and tortured to death by Arab soldiers. No investigation was ordered.

#### MORE REFUGEES POUR OUT FROM SOUTHERN SUDAN

Mr. Onesimo Vuni, Public Health Officer, fled to the Congo. He was reported by government secret police as sympathizing with the "anti-government elements". He was secretly informed of the governments intentions and managed to escape before being arrested.

Mr. Vincenzo Basia, ex-paramount chief of Western District, Bahr El Ghazal, escaped into the Congo with a group of civilians from Wau.

More tragic still is the constant increase of student escapees from the South. Eleven Southern schoolboys and one civilian, all from Bahr El Ghazal, attempting to escape into the Congo, were arrested at Ezo when they, unknowingly, walked into Sudanese police border guards. They were put on a lorry and driven to Tembura prison. On the way, they tried to escape by running away, one boy "Joseph Kuol" was shot and one other boy rearrested, the condition of Joseph Kuol is still unknown.

Another group of students, 30th July 1963, consists of Mr. Francis Mayar Akoon, Mr. Anthony Cok Akol, Mr. Peter Akol Riny, Mr. Mathew Atem Aduol, Mr. Arthur Akuien Col,

In all the number of students in the Congo, 14 in

#### WESTERN PROVINCE

The number of police are being released as the largest number of police 90 people is the case in Military prisons. Released at random. One flagrant by the case of Samuel, rank of sergeant by 19 he was arbitrarily dismissed border where he opened tobacco, beans and seeds 1962, he was arrested received from a child mutineers. He was to camp. His plantation released when no conviction he had lost all his property

The situation in occupation have plundered Yei District where a village is razed to the ground effect in the province

#### BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE

The situation is increasingly deteriorating. climax. This has provoked the Republic and the Congo ordered mass arrests officials were arrested



Another group of students who safely reached the Congo on the 20th July 1963, consists of the following:

Mr. Francis Mayar Akoon, 2nd year Faculty of Law, Univ. of Khartoum,  
 Mr. Anthony Cok Akol, 1st year, Faculty of Science, Univ. of Khartoum,  
 Mr. Peter Akol Riny, 1st year, Faculty of Economics, Univ. of Khartoum,  
 Mr. Mathew Atem Aduol, graduate Rumbek Secondary School,  
 Mr. Arthur Akuien Col, " " " "

In all the number of Southern Students has risen to 370 in Uganda, 150 in the Congo, 14 in Tanganyika and more than 60 in Ethiopia.

#### EQUATORIA PROVINCE

The number of political prisoners under detention fluctuates as some are being released as others are being jailed. Yei and Torit have the largest number of political prisoners at any given time. An average of 90 people is the case in Yei, and in Juba the average is 50 people in Military prisons. Besides, many people are being beaten and maltreated at random. One flagrant violation of law and human dignity is illustrated by the case of Samuel Ayiga. Mr. Ayiga was a policeman and reached the rank of sergeant by 1955, he continued to work with the government until he was arbitrarily dismissed. He went and settled on the Congo-Sudan border where he opened a big coffee farm and several other crops like tobacco, beans and sesame, he also had a beautiful orchard, in December 1962, he was arrested by an Arab army officer acting on information received from a child of eight years that Mr. Ayiga was harbouring mutineers. He was tortured and whisked off to a military concentration camp. His plantation and orchard were burnt down. Mr. Ayiga was later released when no convincing evidence was brought against him, Nevertheless, he had lost all his property.

The situation in Kajo-Kaji still remains grave, the Arab army of occupation have plundered the cattle of the Kuku people. Everywhere in Yei District where a mutineer is supposed to be hiding the whole village is razed to the ground. In all, much army patrolling is in constant effect in the provinces of Bahr El Ghazal and Equatoria.

#### BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE

The situation in Bahr El Ghazal like that in Equatoria, is progressively deteriorating. Arab terrorism and intimidation is reaching its climax. This has prompted many people to seek refuge in Central African Republic and the Congo. The Arab government took to fright in May and ordered mass arrests in Wau and Gogrial. In Gogrial, all local government officials were arrested, these include the Executive Officer Mr. Parmena

Kelei, Valentino Akol, head accountant, Mr. Toby Mawien, Richard Koc, Ferdinand Dhol, Matthew Kuei. In Wau, they arrested the Province Medical Assistant Mr Hassan Fartak, the chief of Bagari, Mr. Musa Luigi, and Mr. Gaetano Biringi who is being tortured under detention. After two months most of them were released on bail. According to government declaration, Gogrial officials are suspended awaiting trial. It is suspected that the government may send in staff from the North to take over from the Southern staff.

Freedom of movement from district to district within Bahr El Ghazal is highly restricted while the three Southern Provinces are literally littered with police stations.

#### UPPER NILE PROVINCE

The domestic rule of the Arab government is lashing more and more Southerners into rebellion. In Pibor, Eastern and Lou Nuar districts, marauding Arab armed gangs have commandeered considerable property. Similar incidents have taken place in the vicinity of Pachalla, Nasir Akobo. As a result of this, hundreds of Southerners had to seek refuge in Ethiopia. At present there are 3,685 refugees scattered throughout Ethiopia, this number includes students, civil servants, villagers and others. (see report on Addis Ababa Conference.).

J.H Oduho,

President,

SANU.

Mr. G.A. Kwanai, SANU Sec  
Conference - May 1963 - a

The following is an  
Conference as presented to  
Information Secretary, on  
with it a brief descripti

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Mr. G.A. Kwanai, SANU Secretary of Information reports on the Addis Ababa Conference - May 1963 - and on the refugees in Ethiopia.

The following is an abridged report on the Addis Ababa Summit Conference as presented to SANU Central Committee by Mr. G.A. Kwanai, Information Secretary, on his return from Addis Ababa. Mr Kwanai gives with it a brief description on Southern Sudan refugees in Ethiopia.

I arrived in Nairobi, May 22nd, on my way to Addis Ababa to plead for the South before the African heads of State there assembled. Before taking off, I managed to have a short talk with the Ethiopian Vice-Consul General. Without discarding the probability that the Conference might not welcome my plea officially - since the aim was to unite the African Continent - he sympathetically observed that our case merited thoughtful attention by all African nations. This is well said, as I remarked, but is it not logical that the aim of African leaders meeting should be to fight jointly against colonialism in Africa, against neo-colonialism and to find a basis for a healthy African unity and perpetual co-operation.

I also managed to talk to Mr. Oginga Odinga, KANU's Vice-President. He showed much concern especially on hearing that I was going to solicit support for the South. He told me that a Sudanese delegate to the Summit Conference had informed him that a Sudanese Luo brother of his was being detained by the Ethiopian authorities for fear that he might assassinate President Abboud.

On my arrival at Addis Ababa, I met my fellow delegate to the Conference, Mr. Alphonse Malek. He is a young man from Tonj district who has been domiciled in the Ethiopian Empire for four years. Mr. Malek is the President of the Southern Sudan Plebiscite Supporters in Ethiopia. To my delight, I found that Mr. Malek had already done tremendous effort in distributing copies of the SANU's prospective petition to the U.N.O., to nearly all Black African States secretaries. Mr Malek then told me how on two occasions, he had met and spoken to delegates and journalists from various Black African nations. On one particular occasion Mr. Malek found all Black African journalists assembled during a Ghanaian party at Iteque Hotel. Arab journalists including those from the Sudan were absent. There was no explanation, but he later heard from the speaker, "We are proud of our colour and we still have to make it more respected and recognised internationally". When Mr. Malek had introduced himself as a Southern Sudan political refugee, all the journalists emphatically pledged full support for our case, wishing their governments would do the same.

This occasion was a prelude to all other contacts that Mr. Malek was to make later. In all, Mr. Malek was able to present our case to nearly all African Foreign Ministers who substantially promised support for the South.



While at Addis Ababa Mr. Malek heard various rumours and reports which illustrated the position of Sayed Santino Deng, the only Southerner in the Council of Ministers. While these reports in no way originated from Sayed Santino himself, we believe that they are well founded. In particular, it is said that Sayed Santino opposed the proposal making the Christian Sunday into a normal working day in the Sudan. Sayed Santino opposed the proposal so much that President Abboud had to refrain from endorsing it. It was only after Hassan Bashir Nasser had sent a threatening letter to President Abboud that the latter summoned Sayed Santino and sought his consent for what he called "a matter of life or death" in case he did not sanction the decree. The proposal was then put for the majority vote which naturally ended in favour of Hassan Bashir. When Sayed Santino was out-voted he made this remark "If the proposal is carried out it will definitely bring a crisis", whereupon Hassan Bashir exclaimed "Supposing it brought on a crisis, would you be involved personally?" and Sayed Santino replied "Perhaps I would not be involved physically, but I would be mentally and morally". The other Northerners simply laughed and left the President to deal with the matter.

This attitude illustrates to what extent the government of Abboud has disappointed all Southerners even Sayed Santino Deng whom the Southerners regard as a yes man.

To conclude, although the case of the Southern Sudan was not officially discussed at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference, we believe that the enthusiasm with which it was received by many African delegates and their subsequent promise in support, shows that this case is not only a purely Sudanese concern but for all Africans in their concept of Africanism.

#### SITUATION OF THE REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA

Like the Congo and Uganda, the number of Southern refugees escaping into Ethiopia, has constantly been increasing. Most of them are from Upper Nile Province, but there are also others from both Equatoria and Bahr El Ghazal Provinces. Notable among the refugees in Ethiopia are: Paul Anade, graduate, American Commercial High School; Simon Morris, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum; Joseph Otho and Ayiya Agoda, both from American Commercial High School; James Biliu and James Jok, Primary School teachers. Most of them entered Ethiopia during the first six months of 1963.

#### THE SOUTHERN SUDAN TODAY:

##### The Political Situation 1963

In the opening article of this magazine, we dealt with the factors that brought about the development of Northern and Southern Sudan since 1948 up to August 1963. In the Report of the Commission of Enquiry of that year. We shall review the political situation prevailing in the Sudanese governments have

What we can see is that the Sudanese have machine-guns and we have enough and that the Arabs are not. Inquiry, that the problem is political. Today, the Sudan government is an instrument in bringing about unity, has unavoidably become a difficult to suppress a rebellion, and indeed a hard job for the Sudanese would prefer separation of a united Sudan if a federal system could be maintained. They maintain for independence only after the parliament on the 19th December 1963. Sudan for federation should be sent to the Constituent Assembly. The subsequent obstructionism of Northern Sudanese is a major problem.

As Professor Wheare says, "The problems in the world today are the same time to introduce a system of federalism and to facilitate the meeting of these two ends," (Federalism for Southern Sudan). The gesture of Southern Sudanese to the National Constituent Assembly whose proceedings have been put an end to a federal system left with no choice but to self-determination.



Mr. Malek heard various rumours and reports of the position of Sayed Santino Deng, the only Southerner among the Northerners. While these reports in no way originated from him, we believe that they are well founded. It is said that Sayed Santino opposed the proposal making it a normal working day in the Sudan. Sayed Santino was so much that President Abboud had to refrain from acting. Only after Hassan Bashir Nasser had sent a threatening letter that the latter summoned Sayed Santino and told him that he called "a matter of life or death" in case of a decree. The proposal was then put for the majority vote and was carried in favour of Hassan Bashir. When Sayed Santino made his remark "If the proposal is carried out it will be a disaster", whereupon Hassan Bashir exclaimed "Supposing you would you be involved personally?" and Sayed Santino replied "I would not be involved physically, but I would be involved politically". The other Northerners simply laughed and left him with the matter.

This illustrates to what extent the government of Abboud was biased against the Southerners even Sayed Santino Deng whom the Northerners considered a yes man.

Even though the case of the Southern Sudan was not discussed at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference, we believe that the fact that it was received by many African delegates and the promise in support, shows that this case is not only a concern but for all Africans in their concept of African unity.

#### REFUGEES IN ETHIOPIA

In Uganda, the number of Southern refugees escaping to the north has been increasing. Most of them are from the Sudan. There are also others from both Equatoria and the Congo. Notable among the refugees in Ethiopia are: the American Commercial High School; Simon Morris, a student of Khartoum; Joseph Otho and Ayiya Agoda, students of the American Commercial High School; James Biliu and James Jok, students of the same school. Most of them entered Ethiopia during the first

#### THE SOUTHERN SUDAN TODAY: A TEST CASE IN AFRO-ARAB CO-OPERATION II

##### The Political Situation 1956-1963

In the opening article in this series, published in the first issue of this magazine, we dealt with the historical background and in particular with the factors that led to the abandonment of the separate development of Northern and Southern Sudan. The political situation in the Sudan since 1948 up to August 1955 and thereafter, is adequately covered in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the political disturbances of that year. We shall readily quote from that report, to show that if the Northern Sudanese were not in the Southern Sudan as rulers, the political situation prevailing today would have been avoided. The successive Sudanese governments have refused to learn from the tragic events of 1955.

What we can see is that they have decided that whatever happens they will have machine-guns and we have not. We thought the blood bath of 1955 was enough and that the Arabs would heed to the findings of the Commission of Inquiry, that the problem of the Southern Sudan is not religious but political. Today, the Sudan government's policy of using Islam as a political instrument in bringing about its desired ends and the suppression of Christianity, has unavoidably added the religious factor. It is indeed very difficult to suppress a racial and religious group, territorially based, and indeed a hard job for those who see the unity of the Sudan to be maintained by perpetual subjugation. Since 1947, though the Southern Sudanese would prefer separate nationhood, they were prepared to remain a united Sudan if a federal solution was accepted for the North-South conflict. They maintained this position since self-government and voted for independence only after a resolution was unanimously passed by Sudan parliament on the 19th Dec 1955, which states that the demand of Southern Sudan for federation should be given "full consideration" by the Constituent Assembly. The subsequent events have proved the dishonesty and obstructionism of Northern Sudanese.

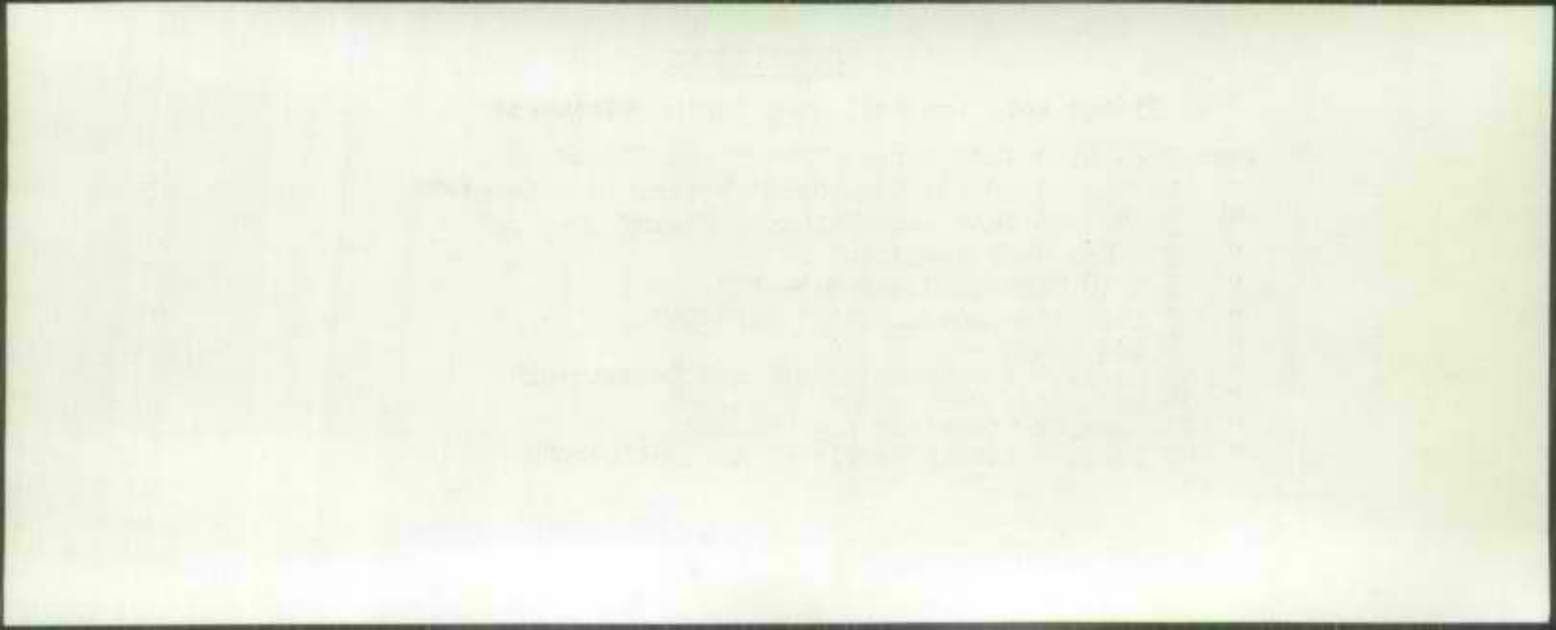
As Professor Wheare has rightly stated, "one of the most urgent problems in the world today is to preserve diversities..... and at the same time to introduce such a measure of uniformity as will prevent clashes and facilitate co-operation. Federalism is one way of reconciling these two ends," (Federal Government 3rd edn p.15). The generous gesture of Southern Sudanese, calling for federal relationship was brushed aside even when semblance of democratic institutions existed in 1957, by the National Constitutional Committee and subsequently by the Constituent Assembly whose proceedings were boycotted by Southern M.Ps. The army take-over put an end to a freely negotiated settlement, and the Southerners are left with no choice but to fight for freedom and to exercise their right to self-determination. The Southern spokesman, in a speech delivered



"Voice of Southern Sudan"  
119 Ledbury Road,  
London, W.11.

We apologise to our readers that the address we have used up to now was effectively unoccupied. From henceforth the above shall be our address.

Any donations (from ten shillings upwards) that you would send towards the cost of publication will be gratefully acknowledged.





## CORRECTIONS

Please note the following typing mistakes:

- Page 2 para. 1 line 9 read "from" not "for."
- " " " 1 " 12 "released" after "immediately"
- " 3 " 3 last line but one, "being" not "be"
- " 5 "Mr. Jomo Kenyatta"
- " 6 & 18 "threats" not "treats"
- " 7 last line but one "37" not "35"
- " 8 (d) "Rufa'a"
- " 15 para. 1 & 2 "commission" not "commision"
- " 19 top line "was" before "jailed"
- " 21 para. 2 "tactics" not "tacit"
- " 22 para. 1 line 6 "relived" not "relieved"

before the Constituent Assembly foresaw the dark future when he said "The South will at any moment separate from the North if and when the North so desires, directly or indirectly, through political, social and economic subjection of the South." This speech was delivered in 1958. The political, social and economic subjection of the South by the North is now beyond dispute. They rule today by sheer might of arms.

Since the revolt of August 1955, the policy of Sudan government in the South has been based on fear than reason. They fear the consequences of losing power and this seems to have led to paralysis in their thinking process and made them blind to experiences of other countries, in particular Algeria, that the use of force is temporary. If the French army, much better equipped could not prevent the F.L.N. from winning independence for Algeria we do not think the Sudan army can do better. This policy is marked by rigorous oppression of the African people and complete stagnation of economic development. All the Arab governments that have ruled so far down to the present military junta, have kept the same policy with respect to the Southern Sudan, based on six major targets:-

- 1) To keep the South in a united Sudan at all costs irrespective of means
- 2) Not to develop the South while there is still a certainty that it may break away.
- 3) To break the link between Southern Intelligentsia with the Southern public, by keeping the former in the North and carefully watching those in the South.
- 4) Keeping Southerners out of defence and security forces as much as possible. Meanwhile no effort is spared in finding fault with those who had joined these forces before the outbreak of the 1955 revolt and immediately thinning them out.
- 5) Forcing the Southerners to relinquish all their habits and ways of life in preference for Arab culture and ways of life.
- 6) Keeping the South out of contact with the outside world.

All these policies are aimed at creating a subservient Southern people ready to bow to the wishes of the Arabs who have no interest in their well-being and progress. Though it is difficult to deal with various aspects of the problem separately, we shall confine ourselves here to the political oppression and shall deal with the political situation as reflected in many walks of life.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

(Detailed account on religious discrimination has been given in the 2nd issue of this magazine. We here refer to religion being used as a target to bring about political oppression in the Sudan today).

a) Freedom of Religion: At present the official religion of the State, is Islam. Religion now plays a big and very sensitive part in

the politics of the country and promotion of State Christians, the rest of Sudan government now effort and time is being Islam, regardless of success, instead they policy aimed at Islam. One, a policy of interference Islamic teachers has Religious Affairs (Islamic religious instruction. Ten such institutions these institutions is a fraction of the churches yearly are left with "Learning" by the Christians.

Secondly, suppression has been since the times of the British who have done Southern Sudan. We growth of Christianity as a retarding factor and African South.

number of tactics have been among the tactics a) By taking over the from former sites - contact with the churches prevent missionaries.

b) By adopting a policy of expulsions and deporting standing of such a priest who entered instruction of the instructions. He place of worship.

on appeal. Never missionaries similar

c) By abolishing Islamic rest-day,

d) Lastly but not action has now been



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the politics of the country and their well-being, e.g. appointment and promotion of State officials. Most literate Southerners are Christians, the rest of the people have no formal religion and as the Sudan government now sees unity of State in the unity of religion, no effort and time is being lost in converting as many Southerners to Islam, regardless of means used, but these policies have not met with success, instead they have aroused hostility and active resistance. The policy aimed at Islamisation is carried out in two significant ways; One, a policy of intensive propagation of Islam, by government payed Islamic teachers has been put into effect under the Department of Religious Affairs (Islamic). Mosques and Islamic institutions for purely religious instruction have sprung up in the principle towns in the South. Ten such institutions have been built in the last three years. Entry to these institutions is open to all, but to ensure a regular yearly entry, a fraction of the children who leave the academic elementary schools yearly are left with no alternative but to go to these for "Higher Learning" be he Christian or not.

Secondly, suppression of Christianity: The propagation of Christianity has been since the turn of the century in the hands of Christian Missionaries who have done notable work in education and medical work in the Southern Sudan. We have both Protestant and Catholic Missions. The growth of Christian church is seen by those who make policy in the Sudan as a retarding factor and a major threat to the unity of the Arab North and African South. To prevent further propagation of Christian faith a number of tactics have been devised by the Sudan government; notable among the tactics are:

- a) By taking over the Christian mission schools in the South; moving them from former sites - in case of elementary schools - to prevent current contact with the church and Christian influence in general, and finally to prevent missionaries from teaching religion in them.
- b) By adopting a policy of constant fabrication of cases against missionaries and deporting them whether they are found guilty or not. One outstanding of such deportations for bogus reasons is that of a Catholic priest who entered an Islamic school to ask for a Christian boy, on the instruction of the boy's parents, in order to give Christian religious instructions. He was charged for and convicted of trespassing on a place of worship. This frivolous charge was contemptuously dismissed on appeal. Nevertheless, the priest in question was deported. Two other missionaries similarly acquitted by Wau court were expelled after acquittal.
- c) By abolishing the Christian Sunday in the South and making Friday, the Islamic rest-day, the official religious resting day of the week.
- d) Lastly but not least, this intolerance to Christian religious propagation has now been crowned by the ignominious Missionary Society Act of



1962. In essence, the contents of the Act mean that the Arab authorities will from the time of the publication of the Act, make it impossible to propagate their religion in the Sudan, while the propagation of Islam is left not only unfettered but carried by the State with public money. The annual budget of the Department of Religious Affairs as given in the Sudan Almanach of 1962 has doubled since 1958. It was Ls. 173,222.-- in 1958/59 and Ls. 284,950.-- for 1960/61 and Ls. 328,165.-- for 1961/62. This shows the importance the Sudan attaches to the use of Islam for its political purposes.

Under the new Act, for any person to teach Christian religion be he Sudanese or a foreigner, he has to obtain a licence from the Minister of Interior.(s.3). The licence if granted will specify the area and duration of his operations. It is valid up to one year and may be withdrawn or its renewal may be refused at the discretion of the Minister(s.5 & 6). The Act does not say cowardly enough that it aims at forestalling the further spread of Christianity, but whoever reads the Act will be left with no doubt as to its target. For obviously it could not be aimed at Islam the State religion, the propagation of which is not regulated by law let alone its control. Though large numbers of missionaries have been expelled since 1956, the implementation of this Act since November 1962 has resulted in the mass expulsion of 150 missionaries after a number of them have undergone detention and various terms of imprisonment. The consequences of the Act led to an uproar throughout the world and brought to light the heinous policies of the Sudan government. If the Sudan government had the courage to face world opinion, it would not hesitate to expel the missionaries in mass. However this action would not help to solve the problem.

#### OTHER FREEDOMS

Though the normal democratic freedoms are non-existent in the whole Sudan; in the Southern Sudan the populace is kept constantly scared by police and military treats. Most if not all, the prominent Southern intellectuals are marked by the members of terrorizing police service rivalling only the Nazi Gestapo in its treachery to humanity. Whatever these secret police say is accepted in court as self-evident and not subject to further investigation, except occasionally after an appeal to Khartoum which is hardly ever granted. In fact what Khartoum policy maker do is to grant their man on the spot full powers of action and interfere only when it becomes evident that the consequences of such action will arouse unnecessary outside concern. In 1957, the security authority in Western Equatoria burned 700 houses and huts without prior consultation with Khartoum. After many demonstrations in the South as well as Khartoum, the government decided to compensate the victims, but the criminals responsible for this barbarious plunder and arson were

not punished or reprimanded. To whenever the inhabitants are sus rebels or are accused of harbour followed by confiscation of live result of this mass exodus of S Uganda, Etiopia and Central Afr a police state not different fr Sudan army is now centred in th Air Force has been temporarily

Anybody who has been to S incongruity between the Sudan platform and their action, the amorility in deeds. Sudan gov pledged their support for the while following the same polic Southern Sudan as those commit We know this pledge is only p States from atrocities commit We have to remind our African a white man's monopoly and th depict Arab imperialism. The disregarding fundamental and in clear and concrete terms in maintaining Algeria withi she likes it or not, shall s Why have hundreds of student chose to live the life of r selves to poverty and miser Today half of the Southern there are about 600 of them Tanganyika and Ethiopia, ar

It is not possible to ation against African of S but we shall give the famo who were charged and convi Christian Sunday. Followi the students of Rumbek Sec duction of work on Sunday, three of their leaders we Dogale, a Sudanese priest master minding the protes imprisonment ranging from

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not punished or reprimanded. Today, the burning of villages continues whenever the inhabitants are suspected of being sympathetic with the rebels or are accused of harbouring them. The burning is usually followed by confiscation of livestock, property and mass arrest. The result of this mass exodus of Southern refugees into the Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Central African Republic. The Southern Sudan is now a police state not different from Angola or South Africa. Half of the Sudan army is now centred in the South, while the headquarters of the Air Force has been temporarily transferred to Juba.

Anybody who has been to Southern Sudan cannot fail to confirm the incongruity between the Sudan government's ideals preached on the world platform and their action, their profession of ethics in words and their amorality in deeds. Sudan government, at the Addis Ababa Conference, pledged their support for the liberation of Angola and South Africa while following the same policies and committing the same crimes in the Southern Sudan as those committed against the Angolans and South Africans. We know this pledge is only propaganda to divert the attention of African States from atrocities committed against the Negroid people of the Sudan. We have to remind our African brothers that colonialism is not essentially a white man's monopoly and that the events in the Southern Sudan clearly depict Arab imperialism. The North claims nationhood over the South, disregarding fundamental and apparent differences. France once claimed in clear and concrete terms nationhood over Algeria, but has she succeeded in maintaining Algeria within the union? Similarly, the North, whether she likes it or not, shall see the South constitute a separate nation. Why have hundreds of students and villagers fled the Southern Sudan and chose to live the life of refugees, to live as destitutes and expose themselves to poverty and misery, if conditions were good for them at home? Today half of the Southern student body have left the country, at present there are about 600 of them living in refugee camps in the Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika and Ethiopia, are these children mad?

It is not possible to enumerate all instances of obvious discrimination against African of Southern Sudan even before courts of Justice, but we shall give the famous trial of Rumbek Secondary School students who were charged and convicted for protesting against the abolition of Christian Sunday. Following a decree of the military government in 1960, the students of Rumbek Secondary School made a protest against the introduction of work on Sunday, which was hitherto a Christian resting day, three of their leaders were arrested together with their father Paulino Dogale, a Sudanese priest and former M.P., the latter was charged with masterminding the protest, both were tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 10 to 12 years.

Furthermore, a leading Southern politician and ex-M.P. Mr. Dominic



Joseph Muorwell, jailed arbitrarily for a ten year term of imprisonment for very obscure political reasons which remain elusive to this date. He was suddenly released in 1962, by order from President Abboud. Mr. Muorwell is now in the Congo, holding the post of Vice-President of SANU.

These examples are quoted not to infer that there should be no law, or that if the alleged crimes were committed by Northern Sudanese there should be no punishment of action taken against them. No, indeed, while such protests against the army regime may be punishable in the North, the difference lies in the double degree of severity in punishing similar crimes in the South. Where a Northern student, who joined in a protest, in a strike or the like would simply be lashed and left to carry on with his studies, or would be dismissed from school, a similar act by a Southern student would certainly cost him a number of years in prison. Northern Judges, who man the courts like the military administrators and the security forces, regard Southern defendants as "enemies" and it is upon this tacit collusion or understanding that the entire judicial system works in the Southern Sudan. Once a Southerner is arrested, on information or trumped charges of the secret police, a verdict of guilty is inevitable. The sentence is usually decided beforehand and the true purpose of the trial is to camouflage the arbitrary nature of arrest and imprisonment. If formal charges cannot be raised against the desired victim, he can be detained under the Preventive Detention Act indefinitely.

Another important weapon of oppression today is restriction to domicile. The Southern Sudan remains a "Closed Districts Area" under the Closed Districts Ordinance. No foreigner can enter the South without special permission from the government. But worst of all, the South is being made a Closed District for the educated Southerners. Almost all Southern civil servants have been transferred to the North, the motive of such an act is as the government claims, to give Southerners a chance to learn Arabic. Southerners like many other Africans learned English without having gone to England or to the U.S.A., the real reasons guiding the move are:

- 1) To break the link between Southern Intelligensia and their people.
- 2) To keep the Southern Intelligensia ignorant of the maladministration of the Southern public.

Southern civil servants of influence are transferred to the North if the secret police fail to plant a crime against them. Any self-employed person under the Defence of Sudan Ordinance, can be deported from the South and placed under restricted residence elsewhere. Hence, in October 1962, the only Southern advocate, Mr. Joseph Ukel Garang, was prohibited from practising in his own home town of Wau and then

in the whole of Sudan. He Ukel's appeal directly to Wau, but he has been restricted to visit even his parents in government has wide power person even in one's own utter blindness and stupidity refusing to benefit from powers.

There is another problem including high official Intelligensia as half-educated a matter of opinion. Nations with a very long to gain the confidence educated, half educated in Southern Sudan is regarded it as such, and gain the confidence of (Southern Sudan District to Northern authorities any notice of it. As of colonialism by a the old tacit of "divide tribe against tribe, Southerners, but how

As Mr. Patrick of Partnership", on in the Central African attitude of the ruling one racial and cultural power it is the at the laws and institutional attitude. As a measure African peoples in the Arab league and What the Sudan goes to assimilate the African language and force of Christianity are aimed at destroying

No person of



in the whole of Sudan. He was then deported to the North. After Mr. Ukel's appeal directly to President Abboud, he was allowed to return to Wau, but he has been restricted to the town of Wau and cannot go to visit even his parents in their own country residence. So, the Sudan government has wide powers, whereby it can declare one a prohibited person even in one's own home. What pains every Southerner, is the utter blindness and stupidity, with regard to Southern problem, in refusing to benefit from the experience of other colonial and ex-colonial powers.

There is another point worth mentioning, some Northern Sudanese, including high officials in the administration refer to the Southern Intelligensia as half-educated. Education is a relative term and largely a matter of opinion. But experience has taught time and again, even nations with a very long history in colonial rule, that it always pays to gain the confidence of the Intelligensia, whether they are fully educated, half educated or quarter educated. The Northern administration in Southern Sudan is not colonial, but the great majority of Southerners regard it as such, and as long as that it so it is just as important to gain the confidence of this group as the peoples living in the bush, (Southern Sudan Disturbances 1955, p.7). This finding was available to Northern authorities in October 1956 and it seems they have not taken any notice of it. As a result, the South is experiencing a worst type of colonialism by a people materially corrupt and morally debased. Using the old tacit of "divide and rule", Sudan government has been playing tribe against tribe, creating a wedge between the chiefs and the educated Southerners, but how long can they continue to play father against son.

As Mr. Patrick Keatley rightly observed in his book "The Politics of Partnership", on the racial problem between Africans and Europeans in the Central African Federation, what matters in politics is the attitude of the ruling group; and since in the Sudan as in Rhodesia, one racial and cultural group holds military, political and economic power it is the attitude of this group which shapes the society. All the laws and institutions are only an outward manifestation of the attitude. As a matter of fact, despite the presence of about four million African peoples in the South, Sudan is today a full fledged member of the Arab league and generally written of as a politically Arab country. What the Sudan government has been doing since independence has been to assimilate the African people into Arab culture by the use of Arabic language and forcible conversion to Islam with the consequent persecution of Christianity and Christians in the Southern Sudan. All these policies are aimed at destroying the African identity and cultural inheritance.

No person or group of people in the place of Southerners in the

present Sudan would willingly submit to the present relationship between the Arab North and the African South which is that of a rider and horse. We thought the dark history that characterized relationship between the South and the North, in which Southerners were victims of Arab slave trade and exploitation, would not be relieved in the modern Sudan. But, alas! the record of the last nine years of Northern administration has done nothing to remove this sordid and terrible memory but instead they have added more fuel through political slavery today. The present injustices only serve to inflame them.

In the Southern Sudan at the moment, the armed forces seem to be no longer sending their political victims to prison. People of prominence have just vanished; no one knows where they are. Notable among them are ex-Senator Luigi Ruweng; 2nd lieutenant Tafeng Ladongi and Livio Mogga, a school master. Mr Ruweng is suspected to have been killed by the Arab Secret Police. He was arrested in 1961 on false charges of having shot a person during a hunting party, after much torture in detention he was released and placed under house arrest, a few months later he was reported missing. Mr Ladongi, an outstanding figure during the 1955 army revolt, was arrested before the outbreak of the revolt and subsequently sentenced to seven years imprisonment, he was then released in June 1962, and like Mr Ruweng he was mysteriously reported missing, after the secret police failed to plant a charge on him. Mr Mogga had just returned from the U.K. after finishing a course in education, was a prospective primary school headmaster. The three men are of paramount importance and there is no wonder if the Arab security forces have killed them secretly, thus, they will no longer talk and there are no witnesses or blots. But, whether Mr Ruweng, Ladongi or Mogga are dead or not such dubious methods never solve any problem nor will they deter.

In conclusion to this general survey of the repressive political policies of various Arab governments in their bid to subjugate the African people, to destroy their ideas, their desire for freedom, for independence, their ideals and plans for building up a happy and prosperous nation within the framework of Negroid(Black) Africa, we have to remind General Abboud and his military junta that loyalty of the people cannot be demanded as a duty or by force of arms. It can only be claimed by a government that has deep roots in and endured only if it is embedded in the willing concern of its citizens.



James Sham,  
Addis Ababa,  
6<sup>th</sup> July, 1964.

115.1.210  
H.E. The Ambassador,  
of the Israel Embassy,  
Addis Ababa.

Your Excellency,

I am writing this letter to ask you to help me financially because I am in very great difficulties.

I am a native of the Southern Sudan, and I came here as a refugee a week ago. Unfortunately, although I have tried my best to ask for help from different sources, I have failed completely. In fact, I have sold almost all my clothes in order to get money to buy my food.

I cannot go back to my country now because the Arabs will catch me, or kill me just like the people from the Southern Sudan are killed.

Now I want to go to Kenya to be with other refugees from the Southern Sudan. In Kenya I want to join school and to get higher education. I am sure that the Kenyan Government will allow me to join school and to get good education.

As I have no means to reach Kenya, I, therefore, ask you, your excellency, to give me money to enable me to pay for my food, ~~transport~~ and for my transport by buses or lorries to Kenya. Soon after getting this money I shall leave here for Kenya. Very urgent, please.

Awaiting your urgent sympathetic help.

Yours faithfully,  
James Sham





115.1.30

Handwritten signature and notes at the top right.



מסדר החוץ

ירושלים, יז' באייר תשכ"ד  
29 באפריל 1964

סודי ביותר  
לנמען בלכו

ערב/982

אל : השגריר, אריס-אביבה

טבת: סח' החקר

הנרון: חרירה סודאנית לתחומי אתיופיה  
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מסקור סודי ביותר ומהימן גורע לנו כי  
הסודאנים החזירז לאתיופיה, בלי יריעה מסעלה  
אריס-אביבה, יחירת תצפית שגלתה מספר כפרים שהוקמו  
ע"י הסודאנים הסודאנים באתיופיה. כפרים אלה הוטעצו  
אח"כ ע"י חיל האויר הסודאני, גם זאת ללא נטילת  
רשות מסעלה אתיופיה. בעקבות הפצצה זו חזר שגריר  
אתיופיה בסודאן בסוף מרס לארצו להתייעצויות.

הסודאנים, החושרים כנראה באתיופיה בקשרים  
עם הסודאנים, מאסינים עם זאת כי אפשר יהיה ליישב  
את ענין הפצצה הכפרים ע"י התנצלות לפני מסעלה  
אתיופיה.

האם תוכלו להשכילנו לגבי תוצאותיו של סכסוך

זה?

ב ב ר כ ה

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ב. ז'ולטק

העתק: טא"ף

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ИЗ : КВАРТЕР, МГЛО-МЕСТО

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התקנתו, והתקנתו של המלך המשיח  
 על התקנתו, והתקנתו של המלך המשיח  
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